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WHO IS TIME WORKING FOR?

by Aleš BEBLER

WE ARE living in one of the most dramatic moments of human history. We are living in a time when it is becoming *possible* to settle relations between peoples in such a way that there should be no more armed conflicts between them. For thousands of years filled with conflicts and plunder, with wars for slaves, rich land, raw material resources, human history *might* experience its deepest change, a change towards lasting peace and co-operation.

What is it that makes this change possible?

The two main reasons for this stem from two effects of the modern scientific and technological revolution, viz., the character of modern armaments, and the new opportunities for economic development in world proportions.

A great deal has been said in recent years about the character of armaments and the art of war in our time. The final conclusion from everything that has been said is that the time of equilibrium has arrived in the capacity for destruction and, accordingly, of equilibrium in the matter of responsibility and fear of an indescribable catastrophe.

This realization has penetrated deeply among the people on all continents. The desire to avoid such a catastrophe has grown so profound and universal that today it represents one of the strongest material forces affecting international relations. And this force, acts against war, against *any* use of *any* armed force in international relations, for any war, even a local one, may lead the world to the greatest disaster.

One of the most responsible statesmen was able to propose the total disarmament of all countries in connection with every type of armament, while another was able to say that "war is going out of fashion" — yet neither of these pronouncements sounded frivolous. Never before has such a thing happened.

Another material fact and its realization points to the fresh opportunities afforded to mankind to achieve prosperity. Atomic energy and its use for peaceful purposes, electronics and their use for automation, the host of new developments in biochemistry and its use in agriculture and so on — all this opens vistas of a quicker growth of prosperity

by means of fresh techniques, of prosperity in one's own country. The land of another is no longer needed for a country to prosper. Individual economic development is the *central* political theme in all countries of the world, and this, too, is something quite novel in history.

It is true that nobody has got everything he wants; for example, nobody has all the raw materials in sufficient quantities both for present and future needs; and the majority have no means of their own for a rapid technical and economic advance. Such problems however, cannot be solved by war.

But taken *all together* we have *everything* and *enough of everything* to create prosperity for *everybody*.

This realization, too, has become a great force. Hence the indomitable aspiration for international economic co-operation; hence the universal acceptance of the principle of international assistance, and so on.

From those two realizations there has emerged a third. Since one does not dare and cannot make war, and since, in fact, there is really nothing worth warring for, the orientation should be towards peaceful mutual existence with everybody. No one can be excluded from our globe, which is our common home, and everybody on it can be prosperous. It is a question, then, of establishing house rules. Whoever does not agree is working for his own isolation and will remain on the sidelines. The majority are going ahead and nobody can ever again stop this movement for any considerable period.

The movement of international relations during the last few years clearly reveals how those perceptions are maturing and how they are actually affecting international relations.

These relations are heavily burdened by the heritage of the past. Hence the complex and contradictory forms of the penetration of fresh elements in international relations. Hence the fact, for example, that disarmament is being discussed and negotiated from bloc positions, in committees composed of representatives of the blocs, i. e., formations which in essence are instruments of war, not peace. Hence the fact that the biggest world problems will be discussed at a limited meeting, the Big Four Meeting, which will be reminiscent of the great-power concerts of last century.

These circumstances, however, cannot delude us. The content of these conversations and negotiations differs essentially from the conversations and negotiations of the great powers in the distant, and even the more recent past, say, those in Yalta and Potsdam. Today the relations of the big and the small, the strong and the weak, differ even from those from fifteen years ago. Whether all the direct participants like it or not, a huge number of countries have indirectly taken part in the preparations for the forthcoming Big Four Meeting. This meeting will be working with the international limelight focussed more closely on it than on any similar meeting in history. This will put the Big Four in a situation where they will

have to make provision for the participation of a series of other countries in the efforts to settle concrete questions, questions which they will be able to deal with by themselves only in principle. And even the principles cannot be those same ones upon which the decisions of the great powers were based in the past, when it was a question of the interests of absent countries.

One of the effects of such a state of affairs in world opinion is that the Big Four Meeting can hardly end without results, i. e., without any positive decisions. Those who do not relish easing international tensions, and who have therefore worked to prevent such a meeting, have lost two battles. The first — when the meeting was scheduled even against their will. And the second — because a certain procrastination in scheduling the meeting deprived them of the argument that it could yield no results since it had been scheduled in a hurry, since it had not been built up adequately. The longer the meeting was postponed the more the peaceloving world opinion came to expect of it, and the harder it will be for the conferees to leave the table with the job unfinished.

One of the proofs that matters are proceeding in a favourable direction is seen by many in the great agitation exhibited by those who fear concrete decisions in connection with the limitation of armaments in Central Europe. However, in the world atmosphere of today such agitation is quite likely to be productive of negative results for its initiators. The whole world, and especially Europe, remembers this or that axis of the past, and the present agitation along the line of such axes will most probably have an effect in a direction undesired by the initiators, that is to say in the very direction they want to avoid.

They and all their overt or covert sympathizers will find out in the end that time is not working for them. Time is working for all those who are striving for new, democratic international relations, in which lasting peace and peaceful international co-operation will be secured.



**XXVIITH INTERNATIONAL
AGRICULTURAL FAIR
IN NOVI SAD YUGOSLAVIA**

The United Nations and Colonial Question

by John K. KALE

Foreign Affairs Secretary
Uganda National Congress

THERE is something in common between the United Nations and a religious monastery. Both institutions, despite their component members' freedom of expression and reservations of their right to disagree, are in the long run fastened to similar axis; the former by an international code of diplomacy and the latter by scrupulous common vows. In a sense this renders the United Nations ineffective. Although it can decide on an issue it can hardly enforce its implementation by member States. But owing to the increasing interdependence of all countries, and because of its international prestige, the United Nations decisions carry with them a highly binding moral force. No nation would stand the condemnation of the rest of the world on a particular issue.

The apparent vagueness of the method by which the United Nations can enforce its decisions has, wherever convenient, been exploited by member States. At the San Francisco Convention all the founder members of the United Nations were unanimous on the objectives and role of this international organization. This was quite natural since all the members were united at least by their common experiences of the war. Consequently the spirit and almost the letter of the Charter embodied the most ideal of human aspirations.

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

On the question of peace and international security the United Nations in its Charter is determined and almost wholly dedicated to preventing the recurrence of any other major war. A major war here is emphasised, because there is actually a war in Algeria, and yet the United Nations hardly does a thing. Hence the active permanent character and the powers of the Security Council. The establishment of the United Nations Emergency Forces and the latitude taken these days by the Secretary General of the United Nations to undertake personal on-the-spot visits to "hot" areas are further proof of the seriousness the UN attaches to peace. But here, as elsewhere, colonialism is underestimated, or even connived at.

When the United Nations Secretary General plans a pan-African tour and excludes the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland from his itinerary, it is not because he is unaware of the events in Central Africa. When he suddenly flies to Laos it is not because peace in Laos is in any way more at stake than in South Africa, where the apartheid policy threatens international peace, with the due acknowledgement of the United Nations.

The terms of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights are clear and impartial. The equality of all people and their right to rule themselves are not only

unambiguously stated there but are even emphasised. Then, one might ask, why has a colonial war of extermination persisted in Algeria for five years? Why should Portugal maintain slavery in Africa even at this late stage? Why can South Africa disgrace humanity when man has attained the highest human achievements? Why should any isolated event, provided it is non-African demand United Nations action the Belgian massacre in the Congo and the British atrocities in Kenya have continued unchallenged?

DECLINING COLONIAL INFLUENCE

The answer to the anomalies so obvious in the United Nations lack of response and actions on the African colonial question, follows from the once dominant influence, or even perhaps effective control of the United Nations, by colonial or semi-colonial countries.

Articles 73 of the United Nations Charter points out that "Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of Territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognise the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these Territories are paramount." The Charter hence does not distinguish different grades of colonial people and does not divide their interests into political and non-political, as the colonial powers would make us believe.

The question of dividing colonial countries into Trustships and non-self-governing Territories was merely a wicked effort to satisfy the selfish interests of the colonial powers. Despite the fact that colonial people fought heroically side by side with their "masters" to defeat fascism and nazism, their reward resulting from the victory of the war was to continue under domination, and their countries, formerly under German and Italian rule, to be shared as war loot by the recognised colonial powers. This has been and still is the most dangerous anomaly facing the United Nations.

In submitting information of a "technical nature" relating to the economic, social and educational conditions from the non-self-governing Territories to the United Nations, the Colonial Powers fail to recognise the fallacy of their assumption of sovereignty over colonial countries. But, by declining to give any information or accept any debate of a political character on the question of non-self-governing countries, the administering authorities demonstrate most emphatically their sinister intentions and hypocrisy with regards to the acknowledged principle of self-determination for all peoples. Alienating political aspirations of the colonial people from their economic social and educational advancement is not only artificial but is also unjustifiable. In fact article 73 of the charter explicitly lays the obligation on the colonial powers "to take due account

of the political aspirations of the peoples and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions."

UNWARRANTED DISCRIMINATION

Although no African Nationalist movement is struggling for the improvement of colonialism but, on the contrary, for its liquidation, the practice of the United Nations to debate and sometimes to determine the destiny of Trusteeship Territories, while scrupulously abstaining from taking a stand on the future of non-self-governing countries, is absolutely unwarrantable and discriminatory. In this respect, Mr. Krishna Memnon, head of the Indian Delegation, in suggesting informally that all non-self-governing countries be put under UN Trusteeship, presented a grave warning of the evil of this type of international discrimination.

The African view on this situation is of course quite clear. It is beyond any doubt that our struggle is aimed at complete freedom and immediate National Independence. Further, the United Nations record in the Trust Territories has not been particularly inspiring. It should however be noted that any improvement of the United Nations attitude on the colonial question, by way, for instance, of the dispatch of visiting missions to the colonies and by initiating debates on the political future of these countries, would not only be in accord with the spirit of the Charter, but would also definitely enhance its moral power and international prestige.

ADVENT OF AFRO-ASIAN GROUP

The unity of purpose of the United Nations came to a climax at the close of the last decade. This was natural, as the legacies of the war were still prominently obvious. By the beginning of the fifties the cold war seed was on its way to

germination and the East-West conflict was taking shape. In the course of time the decisions of the United Nations, apart from those which could be vetoed by one of more of the "Five", were greatly influenced by the bloc impact. Meanwhile, however, the increasing number of new member states, especially from the Afro-Asian world, had almost brought the organization to twice its founder membership. Naturally, with the exception of certain regimes backed by imperialism, the Afro-Asian group found expression by forming an independent neutral bloc, based on the principles of non-alignment and national independence. Although the Afro-Asian group found a strong anti-imperialist ally in the Socialist bloc, the net effect of its existence was to weaken bloc competition and introduce a new outlook in the United Nations, especially on the question of colonialism. Not only was the Afro-Asian avoidance of taking sides wise in winning them some Latin American States, but it also weakened the strength of the colonial bloc by the increasing abstention of States like Ireland and the Scandinavian countries, and even Canada.

Naturally the Bandung spirit which characterised Afro-Asian entity at the United Nations had an appealing effect on the more sober and objective delegations. The Big Powers then could not risk making a move that was totally unacceptable say to India, UAR, Yugoslavia, Mexico and Ghana, taken en bloc or separately. Hence the questions of Algeria, Cyprus.

In every case, the total impact of the Afro-Asian group literally depended and still does, on its unity of action. The group suffers from lack of any sort of constitutional co-ordination and, to a great extent, depends on the good will and moral responsibility of individual delegations. But it must be admitted that the establishment of the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity has had its effect on this

AGADIR

Reflexions on Solidarity

The tragedy in Agadir, despite the disaster which Morocco suffered at the hands of the elemental forces of nature, provides a wonderful example of international solidarity in these days of intolerance and division. The unselfish aid which is being sent to the spot in various forms and from numerous countries, shows that at times of elemental catastrophe, men and peoples of different races and social systems can, without hesitation, rise above prejudices and differences, and unite in a humane action. This is something more than common human sympathy; it is an expression of the awareness of necessity, of the natural obligation of every individual and every community to help those who are in danger, to make conscious sacrifices, when the moment arrives, for those who urgently need help.

The solidarity displayed in connection with the Agadir disaster is an indication that this awareness is alive and present in ourselves, no matter how great the efforts of would-be philosophies and policies to suppress and stifle it. It is, however, unfortunate that people only become aware of this from time to time, when the colossal forces of nature begin to play with us in a way we can neither foresee nor prevent. But are there not some tragedies in the world around us which people can foresee, and which are provoked by ourselves — tragedies which are personal, national or universally human in character, and which could be forestalled or eliminated by the humanitarian solidarity of peoples?

If we examine statistics we may become acquainted with the terrible, hidden side of our civilization. almost two-thirds of the men and women and children in the world live under conditions of chronic famine. Millions of people who do not live long enough to know what it is to eat enough, and so need the help of those who are in a position to extend it. Many countries, however, still resist the operation of such solidarity. The death roll in Agadir is incomparably small against the number of people throughout the under-developed areas who are carried off each day before our very eyes by epidemics, floods and misery, only because they do not have the means to prevent such things. And we do not do anything, or very little, to help them. Entire continents are groaning in the pangs of a struggle for sheer existence, whereas the luckier part of mankind, which enjoys the benefits of a modern standard of living, is still reluctant to give up the idea that this is the natural order of things. And what can we say about the need of solidarity in the struggle against the biggest evil which is being consciously prepared by peoples nations — a nuclear war, which threatens the whole planet with a tragedy similar to that of Agadir?

The feeling which brought the world together in the Agadir disaster is great, noble and humane. But in this age of interdependence of nations, it would be shameful for us to wait for natural holocausts to induce us to act in a humane way.

official organization. The Afro-Asian group has achieved much, but it can still do more, and this is quite feasible because the pitfalls in its path are only those produced by its division by imperialism. The Afro-Asian world constitutes the majority of humanity; it is a relatively rich zone in that its resources have not yet been exhausted, and it enjoys the spontaneous sympathy of the Latin American Continent. There is no reason therefore why its verdict on colonialism should not constitute an international obligation.

THE AFRICAN ERA

The year 1958 was as important to the United Nations as it was to Africa. It marked the emergence of the African group. This group is not a splinter group from the Afro-Asian group, far from it. On the contrary it is closely tied together and generates mutual inspiration.

Since the meeting of the Independent African States at Accra in April 1958, the collective concern of the African States — less South Africa — found important expression. Since the majority of Asia was emancipated, from naked colonialism that is, and as the African struggle including the Algerian war, became more and more urgent and wore a particular African background, the organization of the African group became inevitable. The time had come when Africa could speak for itself and not through the British, French or Belgian delegations. Even countries like the United Kingdom, which still dominate vast colonies, became wary of speaking for the Africans. On second thoughts Britain and France recognised that they could not say anything effective on Africa, when they shared a Committee stable with Ghana and Guinea, for example.

The year 1958 was also eventful. Not only was the African group concerned as to how its demands for complete African independence could gain greater momentum, but also the 13 th General Assembly turned out to be what was later described as the "African Session." For the first time the name Africa constituted a challenge to the United Nations and won high respect from those who used to describe it as the "Primitive Continent." It had now become the Continent of Tomorrow. With the ascertained independence of Togo, Nigeria, Somalia and the Cameroons the Session in fact was rightly described as an African one.

AFRICAN IMPACT

The African position at the United Nations grew even stronger in as much as it drew support literally from all the continents, with Australia occasionally included. Not only was the colonial question assured of further support, but also Africa was thought of as a continent on its own without prior consultations with London, Paris, Brussels or Lisbon not to mention Washington. It was then possible to establish such United Nations organizations as the Economic Commission for Africa etc. The current visit of the United Nations Secretary General to Africa can hardly owe its origin from anything other than the increasing prestige of the African group at the United Nations, and the tremendous impact of events in Africa to the World at large.

Although the 13th Session dealt at such great length with African problems, even to the extent of resuming for a month later in February 1959, the 14 th Session took hitherto unprecedented measures with regard to colonialism in Africa. The debate on the problem of non-self governing territories reflected much concern and stressed the irresistible African demand for

freedom. It was obvious that at the next session this question would be the first item on the agenda of the Fourth Committee, in order to give it its due importance. Besides the reiteration of Africa's right to sovereignty, concrete resolutions were passed by overwhelming majorities to attain this goal.

In view of the fact that the Colonial Powers tended to distort the true objectives of the United Nations, to misinterpret its charter and to persuade the colonial people to believe that universal human rights and civil liberties were not applicable to them, the General Assembly resolved on and recommended the establishment of United Nations Information Centres in the Colonial Territories of Africa for the dissemination of United Nations information and activities. Although the British delegation argued that because of easy communications, London could serve as a UN Information Centre for the Colonies, the truth was exposed, and the resolution eventually adopted. It was also recommended that people from non-self-governing countries should be represented on the United Nations Committee of Information (from nonself-governing countries) and other specialised agencies.

DEMAND BY GUINEA THAT ALL AFRICA BE FREE BY 1963

Because of the increasing gravity of the African struggle, reflected in great number of written petitions and the personal lobbying of Nationalists at the United Nations, Ghana demanded that the political situation in colonies could be debated by the Assembly, more especially as it was unrealistic to separate the political picture from the general national advancement. This created a sensation to, the extent that even the most reserved delegations expressed what they really felt about the evils of colonialism. Following from this, therefore, it was possible for the Assembly to demand that the Colonial Governments should submit, in their annual reports on the colonies information related to the political evolution of these countries to self-government and national independence.

The delegation of the Republic of Guinea further speaking as an African delegation, reminded the General Assembly of the solemn pledge of the All African Peoples Conference to the complete and total Independence of the entire African Continent by 1963, as resolved by the Accra Conference. The demand was justifiable and for its realistic application gave time to the Colonists to adjust themselves to the new circumstances. The delegation of Guinea tabled a resolution to this effect. The African struggle for freedom could not have been better brought home to the United Nations. The reaction of the Assembly on this legitimate and overdue demand for African freedom was a mixed one. In the first place, the colonial powers were shocked, and on recovery intensified their lobbying power, with their continuous traditional appeal to the United States. The middle of the road delegations were sympathetic, but indicated an attitude of restraint and postponement.

So as to leave the door open and give a fair chance of decision to sympathetic delegations, the delegation of Guinea withdrew its resolution till the 15 th Session, in favour of a compromise which demanded that the Colonial powers should give a firm date limit for the freedom and Independence of their colonies.

WHAT NEXT?

The Africans know that the destiny of their continent is in their own hands. Our people, rank and file, are realistic enough to know that freedom will not be given to them on a

silver platter. They are, however, dedicated to all methods that will regain African freedom most peacefully. Hence their incessant appeal to the United Nations and the freedom and peace-loving world at large.

A free and independent Africa, free to mobilise its human and material resources, free to rehabilitate its culture and civilisation, has much to offer to the world. The cultural treasures dormant in our peoples, whose development was interrupted by colonialism, hold the greatest promise to mankind. In addition, the world economy will be enriched when the African countries are working freely, at liberty to co-operate with the

whole world, to exploit their petroleum in the Sahara, copper and uranium in the Rhodesias and Congo, coffee and cotton in Kenya and Uganda, and hence set going the wheels of free and justified production, to ensure their collective security.

The independence of Africa is no longer the concern only of colonials and colonisers. It is an issue affecting the whole world. While determined in their own way therefore, to free themselves from all the shackles of colonialism, the African people expect from the United Nations a more positive stand regarding colonialism.

Socialistic Ideas and Practices in India

by Subhash CHANDRA SARKER

THERE IS almost the same degree of haziness about the definition of socialism in India as is to be found elsewhere. There is no unanimity on what socialism exactly means, or on how it can be achieved. Not unnaturally, therefore, while there are many parties and sects professing "socialism", their practical policies contradict each other more often than not. Broadly speaking, there are three currents of socialistic ideas in India: parliamentary socialism (represented by the programmes of the Congress and the Praja Socialist parties), non-parliamentary socialism, which is to be achieved through peaceful means (represented by the Sarvodaya movement, led by Acharya Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan) and revolutionary socialism, which is to be achieved either through peaceful parliamentary means or through violent non-parliamentary means, depending upon various objective factors (represented chiefly by the Communist Party of India, though there are several minor splinter groups professing such ideas).

How far are the parties serious about their socialistic professions? It is difficult to give a simple answer to this question because, firstly, except for the Indian National Congress, none of the political parties has had the experience of having been in power in the national government, and secondly, the Indian scene presents a complicated picture of racial, linguistic, economic religious, cultural and caste differences such as are not to be met within any other country in the world, and which make the adoption of a uniform policy for the whole of the country exceedingly difficult. For example, it has not yet been possible, in the thirteenth year of Independence, to replace English as the language of administration, because of the multilingual character of the nation. Or take the case of social reform. Some of the social and religious customs are extremely backward, and inimical to the interests of development along democratic and egalitarian lines. Yet for various historical and political reasons the state cannot adopt uniform measures for the believers of all religions. Thus, whilst since Independence the state has succeeded in banning polygamy for the Hindus, the law has yet to be extended to the Muslims. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that this delay in social reform for some, has not in the least been motivated by any policy of unhealthy discrimination against any particular linguistic group or people, but rather by a deference to the wishes of the people concerned.

What follows, therefore, should be considered in the context of the fundamental realities of the Indian situation, which calls for a certain differentiation from other countries.

The Indian National Congress is the largest single political party in the country, and is now in power both at the centre and in all the constituent States of the Union of India. It passed a resolution at its 64th annual general meeting in January 1959, stating that the creation of "a democratic and socialist society should be clearly and unanimously placed before the nation as the objective of planning; and all the implications of socialism, in terms of the individual and cooperative effort it requires, should be explained to the people". To achieve this end, the Subcommittee on Planning of the All-India Congress Committee (which is the supreme organ of the Indian National Congress between its two sessions) has suggested prescribing a "national minimum standard" of facilities and opportunities that should be available to all sections of the people in the country, such as water supply, minimum health facilities, free education up to a certain age, free midday meals, opportunities for higher education for students with merit, and redress of inequalities among scheduled castes and tribes. Efficiency, integrity, and social justice, the Subcommittee says, are to form the keystone, and a dynamic outlook has to be stimulated by discouraging idleness and pomp. To this end "non-productive assets" and all categories of unearned income, "functionless income", monopoly profits and the fruits of speculation should be heavily taxed — in other words, socialism must justify itself through superior efficiency resulting from the reorganisation of the entire structure of production, distribution and consumption.

INDUSTRY

These aims are unexceptionable and there is perhaps no political party in India which opposes them on the theoretical plane. Their real significance, therefore, is to be sought in their practical translation. How far do the specific policies of the Government, headed by the Congress, go in this direction? The Government's industrial policy classifies industries into three categories, having regard to the part which the state would play in each of them: (i) industries such as arms and ammunition

atomic energy, iron and steel, aircraft, shipbuilding, railways, mining and the development of minerals, generation and distribution of electricity and practically all heavy industries, which are to be the *exclusive responsibility of the state*, (ii) industries such as machine tools, antibiotics, fertilizers, synthetic rubber, road transport, sea transport, manufacture of basic and intermediate products required by chemical industries, aluminium and other non-ferrous industries, which will be progressively state-owned and in which the *state will, therefore, generally take the initiative in establishing new undertakings, but in which private enterprise will also be expected to supplement the effort of the state*, and (iii) the remaining industries, the future development of which will in general be *left to the initiative of private enterprise*. Industrial undertakings sponsored by private enterprise have necessarily to fit into the framework of the social and economic policy of the state, and will be subject to control and regulation in terms of various legislations that are put on the statute book from time to time. There is, however, no major difference in the manner of actual management of industries in the three categories, and workers generally have no voice in the determination or execution of production plans, nor in the appropriation of the profits. Neither is there any difference in the level of social efficiency in the three categories of industries, which is decidedly poor. Profit is taxable no doubt, but there is no ceiling on the rate of dividend. Despite a plethora of well-meaning labour laws, the workers' conditions of work and life are extremely insecure whether they are privately or state-employed. Trade union rights are formally recognised, but are essentially denied to the workers — even by the state organs. There are often irritating and protracted labour-management disputes in public (state) industrial and commercial undertakings — the latest example of which was provided by the strike of the pilots of the state-managed airlines in January of this year. There are no laws designed to secure the reduction of inequality, not even in the state-controlled industries.

AGRICULTURE

The Congress Party passed a resolution at its 64th annual session stating that the party would strive to make "co-operative joint farming" the future agrarian pattern of India, in which land would be pooled for joint cultivation, the farmers continuing to retain their property rights and getting a share from the net produce, in proportion to their land, and in proportion to the work actually done by each. As a preliminary to achieving this aim, the congress party would strive to organise all over the country, within a period of three years, a net-work of service cooperatives, though even during this preparatory stage efforts to organize cooperative joint farming would also continue to be made. The resolution further called upon the Governments in all the States of India to complete by the end of 1959 the enactment of legislation abolishing all the intermediaries in land between the actual farmers and the state, and fixing limits on the existing and future holdings of land by individuals. These aims have remained largely unrealised. The enactments providing for limits on land holdings, where they have been made, vary from State to State, and have raised justifiable criticism against them. Progress in the implementation of the programme for organizing cooperatives, has also been unduly slow, so that one year later — at its 65th annual session in January 1960 — the Congress had to call for an acceleration of the pace of land legislation and organization. There is a vast army of landless labourers in the country-

side who have not yet been given any land or suitable employment, notwithstanding periodical exhortations by the Congress party. The implications of this failure in effecting reforms in the various regions concerned, can be fully appreciated only when it is recalled that India is a land of villages, which account for about fifty percent of the national income and support seventy percent of the country's population. All national development work must begin in the rural areas which meet the food and raw materials requirements of the nation. The only effort that has so far been initiated under the aegis of the Congress-run governments in different constituent states of India is exemplified by the Community Development Projects, which have proved themselves to be nothing better than an agency for providing scope for additional employment — which however is mostly of an unproductive character. In the absence of any ceiling on urban income, the move to limit agricultural income (to about Rs. 3,600 per annum) by imposing limits on land holdings has, as was foreseen, generated much heat among a section of the rural people, who now assert that they are being met with undue discrimination against their interests. The policy of discrimination against the rural sector, however, is in line with developments in the countries of Western Europe during the early years of the growth of capitalism, and it also reflects the experience of socialist countries where the rural sector had also to suffer discrimination in the formative years, not only economically (as is proposed to be done in India), but also politically (which is not envisaged in India). The experience of the USSR up to 1926 was, as the current Chinese programme still is, openly discriminatory. India in some respects presents a more progressive and liberal programme. This is shown by a comparison between the practice in India and China. For example, while voting in India is universal, direct, secret, and, except in the case of minorities who enjoy certain voting privileges, equal for all people irrespective of caste, class, religion, race, sex, profession or place of residence (in this respect there are few countries in the world to challenge India) the same does not obtain in China, which claims to be a socialist country — where voting is *unequal* between residents of towns and villages, the townspeople enjoying a greater representation than their numerical strength would warrant, and where, except at the lower level, it is *indirect* as well as, except at the upper levels, *not secret*.

The failure to achieve any remarkable success in the industrial and agricultural reorganization of the country and in the general increase of production has necessarily affected progress in other fields, such as the education and health of the people. (Here however it should be particularly noted that there has been appreciable progress in the spread of education and disease-preventing measures — though much more still remains to be done). Illiteracy and illhealth are still high. The promises to achieve a socialistic pattern of society and a welfare state have thus remained largely unfulfilled. The reasons must be sought in the policies as well as in their execution. The Congress Party in its 65th annual session openly admitted the existence of the administrative lag, but it is not yet fully conscious of the policy lags which are none the less real. Some of the policies are half-hearted and some are positively reactionary and so there can be no mass enthusiasm for them.

These weaknesses in the formulation and implementation of the Congress programmes have provided the basis of operation simultaneously for the more radically socialist and the anti-socialist forces. To add strength to the existing undercurrent of hostility to socialist ideas within the ranks of the Congress

party itself, a new party — the Swatantra (literally meaning independent) Party which formally came into being in August last — has taken the field, making opposition to socialist ideas and practices the major plank in its political platform. The new party not only opposes socialism, but is intolerant of the idea even of planning. The Praja Socialist Party — which is the major democratic socialist body outside the Congress party — has proved itself as yet incapable of providing either an ideological lead or an alternative political programme sufficiently distinguishable from that of the Congress party; and so those who have grown dissatisfied with Congress administration and who themselves profess socialism have tended to rally round the Communist Party of India. The Communists and their allies endorse the Government's broad economic and social policies, but point out that they do not go very far towards the goal of socialism. They criticise the hesitations and confusions in Congress party's policies and actions, and severely criticise its failure to introduce much needed agrarian reforms giving land to the tillers. They further charge that this Congress failure tends to discredit the very concept of socialism and to pave the ground for a reactionary ideology. The Communist Party's chief defect is its extra-territorial loyalty, its inability to decide and act on an objective analysis of the national situation, which keeps intelligent and patriotic people away from its fold. The record of the Communist administration in Kerala — where the party was in power for about eighteen months until superseded by the Central Government — while not altogether disappointing — was particularly open to criticism in certain respects while being still worse in others. If in spite of this the Communist party is gaining strength, it is chiefly due to the bunglings of the Congress-run Governments and to the absence of any other viable political party with a clean-cut socialist ideology and politics. That there is much substance in the Communist criticism of the current congress policies and actions can be seen in the fact that a group of congres-

smen styling themselves the Congress Socialist Forum, which includes two junior ministers of the Federal Government, felt it imperative to come forward, even at the risk of causing displeasure to the leadership, with a public call upon the Indian Prime Minister (Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru) to take the initiative in forming a coalition government in the centre as well as in the provinces, with the cooperation of all socialist elements within the country. As the Communist Party of India was specifically excluded from this proposed coalition, and in view of the moribund condition of the Praja Socialist Party of India, which was the other major recognised socialist group, the call in reality was designed to effect an internal reorganization of the Congress, encouraging a greater consolidation of the socialist forces within itself, with a view to overcoming the stiff challenge that faces it in the next general elections scheduled for 1962 — both from the right (Swatantra Party) and the left (Communist Party).

The dissatisfaction with the Congress party and the disappointment at the Communist party's record in Kerala, have led some to fall back with renewed vigour on the Gandhian concepts, which are also essentially socialistic, their most important difference from other socialist theories being their insistence upon adopting peaceful means and their emphasis upon the leading role of moral change in social development. Acharya Vinoba Bhave and Shri Jayaprakash Narain are their leaders. In a draft thesis the latter, who is one of the founders and an ex-leader of the Praja Socialist Party, has suggested the abolition of parliamentary government, and direct suffrage by semi-autonomous village and district councils (*panchayats*), to be run, he specifically mentioned, along Yugoslav lines. It is too early now to say anything more about this. The above survey, though necessarily a scrappy one, leaves no doubt, however, that socialism is the central factor in Indian politics and is likely to play a crucial role in the country's future development.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

New Africa Faces an Economic Problem

by L. ERVEN

ONE COMMON characteristic in the economic development of the countries of Africa which until recently were, or still are, the colonies of European countries, springs from the fact that their economy was but a function in European economy, viz., the economy of the colonial powers. Thus African economy, too, viewed integrally, formed apart of European economy which — its protagonists being Europeans — was dictated by the interests of European investors. Hence, the fundamental problem of economic policy now confronting the African peoples at the height of their emancipation is that

of its radical and substantial reorientation, so that from a function in European economy and a policy subordinated to foreign aims it may become an independent economic, planned and operative activity adjusted to the requirements and possibilities of the given African countries. In other words, it ought to become independent in its undertakings and independent in the matter of means. Instead of catering to the lucrative placing of foreign capital, which was sovereign in determining the economic aims in Africa, it ought to be orientated toward economic development and the social promotion of African countries. This

is only a logical conclusion, yet it is far easier said than done. For the economic conditions of African countries are difficult and cannot easily be dealt with.

THE PROBLEM OF MEANS AND PERSONNEL

Real political independence entails the realization of economic independence, just as economic independence is a prerequisite for political independence. In other words, these two concepts of independence are interdependent and interactive. This interconnection is not denied by anyone. Hence, the problem for the countries of Africa is not to determine the aim of economic policy — for this logically consists in making African economy capable of independent development — but to establish the methods and provide the means for the realization of that aim. The question has a dual importance, for the development of African economy is conditioned in quality and time by the type and scope of international assistance, which in its turn can also affect political alignments in some cases.

The development of African economy under the impulse of colonial enterprise was slow and one-sided, being mainly directed toward the exploitation of raw material resources. That one-sidedness of past economic development in African countries was manifested in exploitation areas and raw material bases which were the source of profits and which kept European industry supplied; and it sprang from the very relationship of the colony to the metropolitan country, arising, as it did from the colonial system and practice. For the fundamental aim and the inevitable effect of the capitalist economy is the realization of maximum profits in the interests of capital, of its compounding and multiplication, its strengthening and expansion. That capital, whose interests stood for supreme law in the development of African economy, was foreign capital, exclusively European until recently. As regards the engagement of European capital in Africa, it is characteristic that it was invested directly — not indirectly — through domestic economic organizations and firms, as is the practice, in a majority of cases, in undeveloped, more or less independent countries. Consequently there was no need to favour or encourage the economic organizing of the colonial area by creating capable material bases for industrial development. Capital carried its own personnel and ready plans with it and exported the profits realized. From among the African economic factors the colonizer only utilized the raw material resources and manpower.

Such approach to African economy, which was at a primitive level as it still is, was productive, of course, of a series of other adverse consequences. One such consequence in particular creates great difficulties today in the period of over-all emancipation of African countries when they are facing the problem of independent economic development. It is, in a nutshell, a lack of means and a lack of personnel. Colonial economic policy, did not in fact create the conditions for the development of any significant foundations for independent economic development, nor for domestic economic

organizations nor for accumulation of domestic industrial or financial capital, whether public or private. All the factors of African economy: production, exports and imports and the currency system, were integrated in the economic organization of the colonizers. The colonizers' method did not favour, either, the formation of domestic technical personnel. Hence, the problem of means and the problem of personnel represent today, perhaps, the key problems of economic development in the African countries.

TWO TRENDS

Various trends are apparent in the discussions on the methods to overcome these problems. For the majority of African countries and colonial areas such discussions are still abstract, for the main attention and efforts are still centred on the political problems of the independence and organization of the national State apparatus. However unwillingly, economic life still flows through the old channels. None the less in the main, two conflicting trends are apparent.

According to the first trend, the countries of Africa should approach realization of individual forms of economic integration by way of joint economic organizations and a co-ordinated economic policy based on principles of mutual co-operation and assistance. If the economic means of each African country individually are inadequate to cope with economic difficulties and create the conditions for economic progress, their united forces might prove adequate. For all that, the countries of Africa cannot forgo foreign assistance, material and technical. But this assistance should be free from political motives and aims which would jeopardize the political or economic independence of the recipient countries. Hence, the best way is to ensure such assistance through international organizations within the framework of the United Nations Organization. Such objectives, in fine, are primarily manifest in those movements which endorse more an exclusive attitude in the policy of safeguarding African independence and which do not reckon much with future co-operation with the ex-colonizers except within normal relations of equality.

According to the second trend, the economic policy of the new African states should be formulated with a view to continuity of economic relations with the system of the former metropolitan country. In this the supporters of such an outlook see a certain guarantee against economic upheavals in those states, which might be brought on by the abrupt emancipation from the means, currency relations, exporting links and technical personnel of the metropolitan country. A similar attitude is especially widespread in the autonomous territories within the complex of the French-African community, even in those with an active movement for political independence. In some of those territories this apprehensive attitude towards abrupt economic emancipation has even affected the determination of the degree of independence.

THE CONCEPTION OF THE TUNIS CONFERENCE

The results of the two international conferences devoted to African questions which were held during January in Tunis (the Second Conference of African Peoples) and Tangier (the Second Session of the UN Economic Commission for Africa) can throw a little more light on the problem of economic development in African countries. The conclusions of these two conferences differ, which can be explained by their different composition. Those attending the Tunis Conference included representatives of the political and social movements and organizations from the whole of Africa, both free and colonial. This conference was the most representative organ of the all-African political representation and its majority was composed of champions of the idea of African unity and the movement for the United States of Africa. Evidently Allegiance to the idea of all-African solidarity, and confidence in the strength of the African peoples had to manifest itself in a forceful way at such an assembly. Hence the economic problem, too, was assessed, together with all its political effects, in the light of the prospective development of economic independence as a factor in the political independence of African countries. The UN Economic Commission for Africa, which met in Tangier, again, stood for the business meeting of a UN organ, attended by delegates of the Governments of the Members from Africa and beyond, and by the official representatives of other African territories. While the Tunis Conference provided the most authentic expression of the mood of the African population, the Tangier meeting was more strongly marked by the views of different Governments and officials, views limited, in the main, to the practical aspects of economic development in Africa under present conditions and within the framework of the most pressing tasks. This meeting was devoted to a study of the proposed plan for the participation of the more developed countries in the promotion of African economy and the organizing of international material and technical assistance. The participants in this meeting expressed opposed views on some of these issues.

The Second Conference of African Peoples adopted a resolution on economic matters. Its basic attitude was that economic under development of African countries is the result of the colonial system and foreign domination, and that independence is the precondition for all economic development. The resolution warned against the danger from the tendency of colonial countries to substitute economic domination for the previous political domination, and to use economic assistance to provoke division and discord among the countries of Africa. In other words, the resolution urged the independent countries of Africa to be cautious in the promotion of future relations with colonial countries. In the same context, it recommended the independent countries to reject the conclusion of such agreements as would be prejudicial to the movement of the African peoples towards liberty and unity. The resolution did not deal with the concrete tasks of a common

economic policy but it did emphasize certain measures which might shape such a policy. Those measures include the promotion of the co-operative system and of industrialization, preparations for agrarian reform and modernization of agriculture, and the creation of united enterprises and intra-African companies. Some of the measures recommended would represent the first steps toward economic integration, especially in the domain of customs tariffs and trade exchanges, e. g., the abolition of customs barriers, or a progressive liberalization of trade exchanges, or a multilateral payments agreement, or, lastly, the organization of a common African market and establishment of an African investment bank, which are recommended as a later phase of economic co-operation.

SUGGESTIONS OF TANGIER CONFERENCE

The UN Economic Commission for Africa discussed several concrete problems, among them the participation of African countries in the European Common Market, the question of organization of international assistance and of communal services, the measures of the health service, the training of technical personnel and like subjects. Two questions in particular stood out in importance: the question of the African countries' attitude to the European Common Market, and of organization of international assistance.

The Treaty on the European Economic Community (Common Market) provided for inclusion in the Community of all overseas possessions of the Community's European members. It also made provision for a common economic policy in Africa on the basis of a general plan for African economic development and a common investment fund. However, a great change has come over Africa and the territories the Treaty had specified as an area of a common West-European economic policy have mostly become independent states. Some of these desire to be included in the Common Market and some do not. But even those that do, are seeking to be included as equal members, which calls for a thorough revision of that organization, with its purely European character. For another thing, the independent African states also include the former colonies of European countries which have not joined the European Common Market but have founded their own European economic organization, one which, if not exactly opposed to the Common Market, at least rivals it, judging by appearances. That African countries should be drawn into such European organizations, and into their conflicts, does not offer auspicious prospects for their economic development. As a result, the suggestions made at this session of the Economic Commission by some members of the European Common Market to examine the participation of African countries in it, were not accepted by a majority of the African representatives. The idea of a purely African common market, which was advanced in the economic resolution in Tunis, is far more compatible with the interests of that African economic independence which is the inspira-

tion of the anti-colonial struggle in Africa, and which underlies the interests of African political independence.

In the discussions of the Economic Commission differences appeared concerning the organization of international assistance. A majority of the delegates of African countries backed the thesis that international assistance ought to be organized, on the multilateral principle and with no political strings attached, within the United Nations Organization and under its care, as opposed to the already familiar inclination of some developed countries towards the system of bilateral agreements.

The two international meetings described are characteristic in that they simultaneously display different currents of ideas, and different programmes for African policy and economy. At the Tunis Conference the accent was on safeguarding political and

economic independence, on military self-reliance and on confidence in the future, inspired by the idea of African solidarity and the revolutionary development of African anti-colonialism. At Tangier, in the business atmosphere of a working conference, a study was made of the concrete aspects of the African economic problem and of how the peoples of Africa could be helped to overcome their difficulties, or at least some of them. These studies were made under the auspices of the United Nations; however, it must be remembered that the Economic Commission was attended by not only the representatives of African countries but also of some developed extra-African countries still with interests in the African economy and favouring the idea accordingly that in the economic policy of Africa there should be established a certain equilibrium between the African and the European factors.

COMMENTS

Eisenhower in South America

by N. DUBRAVČIĆ

RIO GRANDE is not only a geographical border line between the northern part of the large American continent and its southern part; it is the line of demarcation between the whole complex of political, economic and social contradictions which sharply divide the two Americas. Nevertheless, the specific geographical and strategic position of the whole area, as well as the specific relations within it, have had in the past and still have a special place in the development of relations in the world. To-day in particular, since these are decisive years in international development, the wind of historic changes is also blowing over the southern half of the continent.

The United States, as the most developed country industrially has for decades had a privileged position south of Rio Grande: she has had the production, prices, politics, regimes and the pace of political and economic development in the southern republics in her hands. And whereas the Latin-American countries saw that their vital interest lay in freeing themselves from foreign dependence and in embarking on speedy internal evolution, things looked quite different to the United States: she wanted to build up an adequate inter-American system on the basis of her own domination, which would make it possible to set the sails of her international policy.

But the hands of time have moved forward: the time of the Monroe Doctrine has gone by for ever, as well as the time for legal intervention by the United States in the southern hemisphere, which occurred towards the end of the 19th century. If, in the period between the two wars, Roosevelt's policy of "good neighbourship" made it possible for Washington to emerge from international difficulties, the years after the Second World War brought about deep national and social upsurges all over Latin America. The past fifteen years brought to the forefront a sturdy Argentina, a rebellious Mexico, a rational Brazil, Bolivia and Chile, and a revolutionary Cuba. They were accompanied by numerous national and independent

movements, which proclaim the general economic and national emancipation and establishment of the independent regimes. From an instrument aimed at securing southern support for the global policy and strategy of the United States, the Pan-American Organisation has become a scene of struggle for the ideals of Bolívar: democratic and equal cooperation between the southern and northern parts of America in the settlement of their mutual and international problems.

Dissatisfaction with the United States, that is, with her hegemonistic concept of relations with Latin America, has, during the past few years, been accompanied by stormy crises and public indignation: two years ago Vice-President Nixon was exposed to embarrassing scenes: there were frequent anti-American demonstrations in Panama; there was tension in American relations with Cuba; there were crises in economic relations with Brazil etc. The South-American republics openly demand that the United States should revise her policy and co-operate, without humiliating conditions, in their economic reconstruction and development that she should adapt her present system to conditions of equality, stop interfering in the internal affairs of these republics, and withdraw her support from the unconstitutional ultra-reactionary regimes, all of this exclusively at the expense of her military arrangements.

Eisenhower, it appears, was aware of these trends and dispositions in Latin America, and he was able, in some of the countries he visited, to convince himself of the dissatisfaction of the people with the policy pursued by their northern neighbour (demonstrations in Argentina and Montevideo). It is naturally, not yet possible to say to what extent his ten-day visit to Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay has contributed towards improving relations between the United States and the "green" continent. But, judging by some indications, it is certain that the Latin-American countries expected more from his tour. Whereas all the four countries came out with demands for greater understanding and assistance from the United States in their programmes of economic transformation,

Eisenhower, both before his departure and during the tour, rather emphasized the problem of defence, which did not impress his hosts and general public favourably.

In Brazil Eisenhower publicly expressed his understanding of the Pan-American operation of President Kubitschek, conceived as a wide continental drive to coordinate efforts in economic development. In Argentina he displayed interest in Frondizi's demands concerning the problem of prices of Latin-American products on whose export the prosperity of these countries chiefly depends; in Chile he did not fail to compliment President Alessandri on his plan to hold a South-American disarmament conference; in Uruguay he listened sympathetically to local plans and demands.

These, as well as some general statements by Eisenhower on the readiness of the United States to invest part of the savings effected in the process of disarmament in a constructive programme of peaceful development, marked progress from Washington's former attitude to the vital necessities of Latin America. The South-American public understood it in this way, but at the same time expressed its dissatisfaction with the lack of concrete promises, obligations and credits. The statement by Eisenhower's Secretary of State Herter, that for the time being the Latin-American countries cannot expect any increase in economic aid from the United States, as well as the statement by Secretary Dillon that American capital will not invest in Latin America without guarantees against expropriation, were received with sharp disapproval. To the Latin-American countries and their dynamic efforts to break the monocultural character of their economies and to realize economic progress and independence, platonic support, without definite forms of substantial co-operation, does not mean much. Moreover, in statements such as those of Herter and Dillon, and also in Eisenhower's statement about the right of the United States to intervene if a South-American republic were prevented, by force or subversion, from choosing its way of government, they may rightly hear the ring of old concepts. In practical work so far, such views have created a hardly bridgeable gap between two Americas, making it impossible for the southern part to participate in the settlement of inter-American and world problems as an independent and equal partner.

It is to be hoped that the impressions gathered by Eisenhower in Latin America will lead to favourable corrections in the United States' policy towards that part of the world, which is assuming increasing significance and authority on the international scene, as is indeed, borne out by Eisenhower's visit.

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The Halstein Doctrine and Reality

by R. K.

GUINEA'S decision to recognize the Democratic Republic of Germany would belong among the conventional international legal acts involving the recognition of States but for the fact that there exists yet another German State which claims the sole right to represent the German people and that, in support of this claim a doctrine called Halstein's has been built up, which is founded on the threat that the Federal Republic of Germany will break off diplomatic relations with any country that recognizes the Democratic Republic of Germany. Because of this, a perfectly comprehensible decision of the young African State has led to the urgent withdrawal of the West German Ambassador from Conakry, and to the decision to sever diplomatic relations with Guinea.

Application of the Halstein-doctrine yardstick has led to a repetition of the situation which in 1958 caused Bonn to break off diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. Even then it was perfectly clear that the Halstein doctrine could only be prejudicial both to the prestige, and the interests of the Federal Republic of Germany. This fact is now even more evident, for the pressure put upon Guinea will have a very adverse effect on West German plans for economic relations with Africa as a whole. It is realistic to expect other African and also Arab countries to follow the example of Guinea gradually, and tenacious insistence on the Halstein doctrine can only lead to the increasing political and economic isolation of Western Germany. That is why even in Bonn doubts are arising whether there is anything to be gained by insisting upon a superceded position for the sake of prestige and the conservation of a formula that cannot serve, anyway, as a solution in dealing with the problem of German unification. Such a position can only cost more and more political compromises and the loss of increasingly-important markets for West German goods and capital. If it was mainly the Social-Democratic leaders who first raised these doubts, the same doubts are now quickly spreading in economic circles where policy is seen as the paramount function of economic interests.

At the time of its inception the Halstein doctrine denied the objective fact that there were two German states, and made provision for the application of force as its basic argument. Today, several years later, when the atmosphere in international relations has changed so much that the cold war is virtually a thing of the past, the Halstein doctrine also would reverse the whole process of relaxing tensions by using methods of pressure and threats. These three factors — (a) non-recognition of the Democratic Republic of Germany; (b) pressure upon states to act as suits the wishes of Bonn; denial of the sovereign rights of states to establish relations with other countries in accordance with their free appraisal; and interference in their internal affairs; and (c) maintenance of the cold-war positions in an era of relaxing tensions — mark the Halstein doctrine as the instrument of an unrealistic, undemocratic and harmful policy.

West German Military Bases

by R. KOZARAC

THE FACT of a country seeking military bases in another country does not imply peaceful aspirations; in such a case it is always a question of some offensive military project threatening world peace and security. If, on top of that, the country seeking bases is Germany, and if the country on whose territory such bases are to be established is Caudillo's Spain, then recollection of the tragic fate of the Versailles system — based on limitation of German military power and on non-respect for that limitation — becomes a quite natural association and warning.

Without wishing to invoke historic analogies, which may be but which are not necessarily correct, it appears to us that this is just the right moment to recall the following events. At two junctures the destiny of Europe most directly depended on developments in the German sphere of action — in 1914 and 1939. These two dates represented points of no return; it had become too late to stop aggression. Historic experience, however, indicates that aggression is always the result of a process of gradual and complex preparations; during that period there are always possibilities and means of preventing such a development.

History may not repeat itself, yet the methods, the motivations and the ambitions apparently do repeat themselves. When the West German plans regarding Spanish bases became public, the Bonn officials resorted to a sharp denial, then assumed the offensive when the facts became all too evident: West Germany is expected to be an important military point within NATO; the German sphere of action is all too restricted for the perfecting of military techniques; because the Western Allies have turned a deaf ear on their demands, Bonn's military strategists themselves decided to carry out their duty as NATO members. And they chose Franco's Spain as the most suitable country for the establishment of their military bases.

The European public, who were reminded by the mere possibility of a political and military alliance between Western Germany and Spain of blue and other divisions, reacted sharply and with solidarity, so that even many of those in an official position in the big Western countries dissociated themselves from the Bonn action. Thereby, from a political, moral and psychological point of view, the West German action has certainly been repudiated; but the military problem remains, and with it the whole political constellation wherein the problem of West German military bases was actually permitted to arise, and wherein similar or even more drastic moves and undertakings may be expected in the future.

Once again, it is not merely a question of what the German military planners want or are doing: today more than ever before, the responsibility for any threat to peace lies with the great powers; those very same powers which — contrary to the Potsdam and other decisions — have done everything to ensure the quickest and most comprehensive remilitarization of West Germany.

Consequently the question of West German military bases in Spain is only one symptom of a more complex problem and convincing testimony of an alarming order of things in the German sphere of action.

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During the first six years, that is, up to 1955, the enterprise's pace of development was rather slow. Between 1948 and 1955, by minimum investments, the enterprise succeeded in raising the value of its gross production to 180,000,000 dinars, and in employing about 160 workers.

Since 1955 the pace of the enterprise's development has been considerably increased. In the first place suitable production departments were built, and all proper hygienical and technical conditions for normal work ensured. The first stage of the reconstruction work was then carried out, and the enterprise's production capacities were expanded. In 1959, the value of the gross production was 815,000,000 dinars, and 530 workers were employed in the enterprise.

The factory is at present undergoing its second stage of reconstruction, which provides for the extension and supplementing of its production capacity. By investing in its basic instruments of production another 262,000,000 dinars, to be realized during 1960, the enterprise will increase the value of its gross product to 2,539,000,000 dinars and will employ 1,060 workers and office clerks.

The third stage of the enterprise's enlargement will be finished by 1965. This will mark the completion of the enterprise "Sana" in Bosanski Novi.



After the completion of the enterprise's development and the enlargement of its production capacity, it will employ about 2,360 workers, and the value of its gross production will be 6,500,000,000 to 7,000,000,000 dinars.

The chief products manufactured by the enterprise are silk, perlon, cotton and woollen wear, all of which are very much in demand.

The enterprise manufactures a wide variety of articles, as it produces about 150 to 200 kinds of apparel for men, women and children.

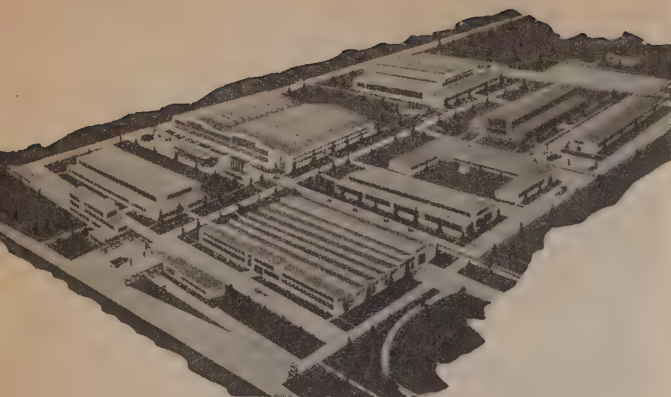
In previous years, the enterprise sold its products mainly on the home market, where they are very much in demand because of their high quality, so that the enterprise's output is always sold out 3 or 4 months in advance.

In view of the fact that, up to 1960, the enterprise was engaged in raising its technological standards, bringing its production capacity more up to date and training its cadres, it has not appeared on the markets abroad, despite the great interest in its products.

In 1960, the enterprise "Sana" will place on foreign markets its woollen and cotton wear, and in lesser quantities also its silk and perlon knitted goods. The enterprise will export men's woollen vests, women's woollen blouses and women's woollen sets, women's silk underwear sets, silk pyjamas, perlon sets, linen and perlon pyjamas with the factory's own lace. It is also planned to export the following cotton underwear: women's lined underwear, men's lined underwear and children's lined cotton sets.

We hope that our products will find their proper place abroad, as they have done on the home market. The prices of the enterprise's products are favourable both on the home and the foreign market, and the quality of the products is high.

The "Sana" factory in Bosanski Novi is continuing work on the expansion of its production capacity and the professional training of its cadres, which will make it possible to supply both the home and the foreign market with a wide variety of high-quality products.



14 OKTOBAR

KRUŠEVAC — YUGOSLAVIA

FARMING, BUILDING AND MINING MACHINE FACTORY AND METAL CONSTRUCTION WORKS

AFTER WORLD War I, several metalworking factories were founded in Yugoslavia almost at the same time, and in this period, in 1923, the former Railcar Factory at Kruševac was also built. After World War II this factory was transformed into the present "14 OKTOBAR" factory.

The main products of the factory between the two wars were freight and passenger cars for the State Railways, railway bridges, cranes and hoists, railway switches, dogspikes, small railway objects and various steel constructions, mostly built to order.

Between the two wars the factory changed hands several times, experiencing all the difficulties characteristic of that period, and the suffering party were always the workers. Reduction of labour and new enlistment of workers were a frequent occurrence.

The highest level of development was attained in 1940, when there were about 500 workers employed. Besides a number of experts from various countries working at that time in the factory, there were a considerable number of highly skilled workers from the town of Kruševac and its neighbourhood.

During the German occupation the factory worked mainly on the repair and overhaul of tramcars damaged in the 1941 bombardment of Belgrade. But when in 1943 the invader began to repair damaged tanks and other military equipment in the factory, it was set on fire three days later, and put out of operation by the Rasinsko-Jastrebački Partisan group, which was active in the region of Kruševac.



The reconstruction of the Factory shortly after the war was extraordinarily rapid, and in 1946 the pre-war production level was reached, the factory gradually switching from railcars to construction equipment and mining machinery. This program was completed by undertaking the building of farming machinery.

In 1948 the total labour force rose, to some 2000, and the assortment of products was considerably extended. The factory's biggest success consisted in the mastering of the production of equipment indispensable for the mechanization of the basic branches of national economy, viz.: mining, agriculture, construction, land reclamation and irrigation.

At present the production program embraces a long list of automotive heavy equipment, such as universal excavators, crawler tractors, motor road-rollers, and besides this, portable concrete mixers, vibrating tampers, scrapers, sheepfoot rollers, caravan cars for heavy construction equipment, and all sorts of metal constructions. Besides this the factory builds complete coal washing and sorting plants in cooperation with German and French manufacturers.

The equipment built by the "14 OKTOBAR" factory is intended for heavy-duty work all the year round. Built for trouble-free service, for efficient, economical and long lasting operation, machinery built by the "14 OKTOBAR" factory is indispensable for modern, profitable and efficient operation in every enterprise.

In order to give a more detailed illustration of the factory's main line of products, a short description of the main features of the individual groups of products may be useful.

Excavators Built by »14 Oktobar«

THE FIRST universal excavator to be built by the "14 OKTOBAR" factory was a 1 cbm. unit, model UB-1, built under licence from Messrs. Nilsson & Korte (Germany). Production was mastered within a very short time, and this machine has proved to be extremely rugged, dependable and

A DETAIL FROM A PLANT FOR CONSTRUCTION OF EXCAVATORS IN „14 OKTOBAR“

economical under even the most exacting operating conditions, and has found many customers among the mining, quarrying, land reclamation and other enterprises in the country, while there is also keen interest on a number of foreign markets in this machine. With its great reserve of power, complete line of attachments, low specific ground pressure, light controls and low operation costs this is a really universal excavator for all sorts of tasks and in all fields of activity.

Based on the experience attained with this machine, and following closely the achievements in this field, the factory engineers designed during 1958 a new model of the same capacity, called SUB-1. Most modern in every detail, more rapid in operation, with still lower specific ground pressure air-operated controls, full line of attachments, this is a really up-to-date machine, ranking among the best of its class in Europe.

To meet the demand of the market, and because of the shortage in highly skilled and experienced engineers to design new equipment, in 1955 the factory made an agreement on technical cooperation with Messrs. FIORENTINI (Italy) for the building of a 0.5 cbm universal excavator, called the UB-05, the production of which is now already fully mastered, and which has found a ready market not only at home but abroad. This is an extremely versatile machine, built to work with all attachments normally used with a universal excavator, such as front shovel, backhoe, grab, dragline etc. Air-operated, finger-tip controls are the delight of every operator; high working speed, low running costs and impressive output are the main features of this machine, which has won the praise of all customers. Put to work on a number of land reclamation projects and irrigation jobs, this machine is winning thousands of hectares of fertile farming land for Yugoslavia's national economy.

The next model, also built under licence from Messrs. FIORENTINI, is the small UB-035 universal excavator, a

machine built to work with all normally used attachments, including a side-dragline for small channel cleaning and maintenance works. With a shovel capacity of 0.38 cbm, and dragline buckets of 0.3 or 0.4 cbm capacity, depending on the boom length, this is the ideal machine for small jobs of irrigation system maintenance, foundation excavations, drainage works, trenching, etc. etc. The attachments are changed quickly and easily, and transportation from working site to working site is possible without knocking down the machine, because its low weight and the reduced overall dimensions make it possible to load it complete on a low-loading trailer or on a railroad flat-car.

The biggest machine built in cooperation with Messrs. FIORENTINI is the UB-3, a universal excavator having a front shovel of 2.65 cbm and dragline buckets of 1.9 and 3.2 cbm, for boom lengths of 30 and 20 met. respectively. For the big Dunav—Tisa—Dunav hydrosystem, 12 of these machines were delivered in 1958, and put to work on the most difficult sections of the project, for the excavations of hundreds of thousands of cubic meters of earth. The same machine has now been put to work in mines, on building sites of hydro-electric power plants etc., having been modified in some details, to suit better the extremely heavy operating conditions. With its overall working weight of well over 110 tons, Diesel or electric drive, air-operated controls, small specific ground pressure, this is a powerful, efficient machine for the heaviest jobs.

In cooperation with the FAP-Priboj truck factory, "14 OKTOBAR" is building the first Yugoslav truck-mounted cranes and excavators. By applying the UB-05 upper structure to a special truck-chassis, a most versatile construction machine has been created, featuring high maneuverability, simple and finger-tip easy controls and all the excellent operational characteristics of the UB-05 excavator.

(To be continued)



EXCAVATORS BUILT IN THE FACTORY „14 OKTOBAR,,

Housing Construction in Yugoslavia

by Vladimir NENADOVIĆ

IN THE DOMAIN of housing, the last few years have witnessed a beginning of that lively tempo of change and progress which has been so characteristic of all other spheres of the economic and social life of Yugoslavia.

These changes began in 1955, when special funds were established for housing construction, consisting of 10 per cent of the incomes of those employed in the economy and administration of the commune. As a result, housing construction found its place in the distribution of the national income, and it continued to grow, side by side with the growth of employed persons and their total income. In 1959 the investments in housing construction had reached 17.9 per cent of the total investments. The effect of the establishment of housing construction funds in the communes is best illustrated by the following tables, which show the contribution to these funds during recent years (in units of a thousand million dinars):

1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
9.7	37.9	53.0	64.4	75.0

These funds provided a stimulation for housing construction activity, as is witnessed by the number of dwelling units built, shown by the following figures:

	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959*	1960**
Towns	15,000	17,000	22,000	31,000	39,000	45,000
Total	30,000	37,000	45,000	61,000	69,000	74,000

As a matter of interest, the number of new dwelling units built in the towns during 1953-56 averaged only 15,500 annually.

At the beginning of 1957, the Federal People's Assembly examined the problem of housing and, issued a Resolution on the principles of housing legislation, which led to the essential changes which were to occur in subsequent years.

A year later the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council issued a Decree on the special conditions of construction of dwelling houses and administrative buildings, and on social control of such projects. The Decree obliged the communes to issue detailed regulations concerning housing construction on their territory, including provisions relating to standards for the designing of dwelling units. These measures put a stop to the earlier tendencies to build irrational

and even luxurious structures, and introduced several types of dwelling units, varying in equipment and facilities (the so-called classification of new dwelling units). This made for more efficient investments, the average cost of housing construction (per bed per dwelling unit) being reduced by 25 to 30 per cent. However, the effect of the new measures was considerably minimized by the constant upward trend of building material prices and construction costs, in consequence of the many technical and administrative weaknesses in the building materials industry and the among contractors.

Increasing housing construction gave rise to fresh problems in town planning and land policy. The most significant step in solving these problems was unquestionably, the Law of Nationalization of Tenement Houses and Building Land, passed by the People's Assembly at the end of 1958. This nationalization covers all dwelling houses with more than two larger or three lesser dwelling units, as well as all building land within the limits of urban and industrial communities (nationalization now covers a total of 726 places in Yugoslavia). The Law provides for adequate recompense to the former private owners of such houses and land. On the basis of this Law, the boundaries of the building zone are established in the towns and new principles introduced in connection with long-term land policy and the creation of general proper conditions for the elaboration of town-planning projects which form the basis of any more comprehensive housing construction. In establishing the limits of private ownership of dwelling houses, the Nationalization Law opens solid prospects to those citizens who wish to build dwellings of their own and creates conditions for gathering additional means for housing construction from the personal income of the population.

Further incentive to proper town planning was given by the Law of Dwelling Communities, passed early in 1959. Relying on the broad lines of policy which had already been developed in this direction, this Law pronounced the dwelling communities to be a component part of the democratic mechanism of communal self-Government. In the domain of housing, this organization has the special task of acting on its own initiative and undertaking its own measures for the improvement of living conditions in its community — all this with the support of the commune; this includes assistance to families regarding daily housekeeping and child care and the organizing of services helpful to households and the house councils

* Provisional figures
 ** Target figures.

responsible for the management of dwelling houses, as well as the undertaking of lesser communal work (gardening, playgrounds etc). From the point of view of town planning, these dwelling communities represent, in a social sense, the microcosms forming the basic cells of the town.

Early in 1960 the Federal People's Assembly enacted laws on lodging relationships, on housing co-operatives, on storey-ownership and on business premises. All this has further stimulated citizens to invest their own funds in housing construction.

Lastly, after comprehensive preparations and a public discussion, the end of 1959 saw the enactment of the Law Relating to the Financing of Housing Construction and other regulations, which together, led to the so-called housing reform, i. e. the abandonment, in the domain of lodging and housing construction, of the outworn administrative relationships, and the introduction of economic and democratic relationships, as described in a recent issue of this Review*

As we said before, in the major towns, recent years have been marked by satisfactory progress in abandoning the traditional "craft" proceedings. Increasingly, one meets with uniform design accompanied by standardization of materials and the built-in elements. There are experimental building sites where construction work is proceeding on the basis of new conceptions in line with the material basis of the local building materials industry and the specific technological processes of individual large construction enterprises. These last are, equipped with the necessary modern mechanization for semi-prefabricated construction. In the larger towns there already are factories producing many modern elements, viz., hollow bricks and baked clay blocks, light reinforced concrete and other material with a cement base, supporting inter-floor constructions, serially produced carpentry and the like. This, however does not include the so-called crude building work. Here the finishing building work is mainly performed in the traditional "craft" way.

For the purpose of a quicker promotion of housing construction, the obligatory application of the standard modulus of 10 centimetres has recently been decided. This has eliminated the worst deficiency of our housing construction work: the absence of uniform modulation measures as the basis for the typification and standardization of structural elements and materials. Unquestionably this regulation will make for the speedy introduction of more modern methods of semi-prefabricated and prefabricated construction.

An important contribution to the promotion of housing construction is made by scientific and technical institutions carrying out research in connection with the production of building materials and new building methods.

Notwithstanding the successes which have been scored during the last few years, the volume of housing construction has been lagging behind, notably in the towns, and this has resulted in a constant

downward trend in general housing standards. Only in 1959 was a certain stabilization reached, foreshadowing the possibility of a turn for the better. Thus a movement toward even more comprehensive, quicker and cheaper housing construction is to be expected in the period ahead. It may be assumed that the legislative work and the organizational changes of the last few years only serve as an introduction, creating the necessary climate to approach the needed change. It must be remembered that a higher standard of housing cannot be achieved by any reform, but only by the efforts of the social community and every citizen to raise productivity, saving and rationalization, and thus to increase housing construction.

According to the proposals of the new plan, housing construction should gradually reach a volume exceeding the population increase in the towns. The annual rate of increase of housing construction is expected to equal 12 per cent, reaching a total of 124,000 new dwelling units in 1965, as against the 69,000 in 1959. The ultimate target figure is 240,000 new dwelling units annually, or 10 new dwelling units annually per 1,000 inhabitants (as against 3.7 in 1959).

The social-economic relationships and the organizational changes which were established in the past period have created auspicious conditions for the quantitative and qualitative development of housing construction. The present system of housing relationships and the financing of housing construction projects provides an incentive for mobilizing ever-larger financial means for housing construction, whether from public and social funds and the budget, or from Co-operative and private sources. The system further enables various forms of co-operation between all the factors concerned in housing construction, viz. the housing construction funds, the housing co-operatives, the manufacturing industry, the construction enterprises and the designing organizations. In the major centres such business organizations will be able to assume all the tasks of mass-scale housing construction. Besides their past crediting function, in the future the housing construction funds should finance the erection of dwelling units directly as well, such units being sold or let to individuals under a subscription scheme. Those funds should make possible the rational organization and coordination of all factors relating to the construction of housing developments. The system stimulates economy both in the actual construction work and in the utilization and maintenance of housing. Individuals who are interested in the erection of housing are enabled to solve their housing problem with their own resources, i. e., they may obtain credit from the housing construction fund to build a family house of their own, they may join together in a housing Co-operative (for the purchase of a dwelling unit by subscription), or they may subscribe to a fund for the purchase of the tenant's title in newly-built houses forming social property.

The fact that rent in the newly-built houses will be directly influenced by the construction costs will

* See "Housing Reform", by Kiro Gligorov, in the Review of International Affairs No. 230, 1959.

cause the future tenants to take an interest for the quality and price of the dwelling unit, which should encourage further rationalization in design and the building work itself.

These favourable conditions notwithstanding, the organs and organizations concerned will need to continue their conscious efforts in the guiding and promoting of housing construction. In the future, too, proper attention must be given to planning and the preparation of long-term programmes of housing construction, especially in the communes, for only in such a way can the necessary continuity and other conditions be safeguarded for the introduction of more modern building techniques. The existing standards relating to the dimensions of the dwelling and workmanship, its disposition and equipment will remain in force, but they will have to be supplemented by regulations on the minimum hygienic and technical standards.

Work is in progress to establish a general conception for the further development of the building materials industry and housing construction work. In the lesser localities this conception will probably have to continue to compromise with the utilizing and promoting of conventional building methods, with the use of local material and an abundant reliance on manpower and craft services. In the major towns and the more developed zones this conception will rely on the experiences of the many experimental building sites in the use of new, modern material both for rough and finishing work, and in the application of semi-prefabricated and prefabricated building methods. Reduction of the weight of the built-in elements and the extent of the wet processes and manual craft work needs must lead to a quickening of the process and to a lowering of building costs.

In this context, the coming years should see a considerable increase of the volume of investments in all branches of industry which supply the materials and elements for housing construction. This will involve the mechanization and modernization of brick factories for the production of hollow blocks and other up-to-date baked-clay products, the erection of new plants for the manufacture of light blocks on a cement base, of light boards, plastic wall and floor covering, wallpaper, and so on. It will also be necessary to enlarge the present factories of cement, glass, metal fittings, sanitary ware and other installation material.

Future industrial development plans provide for a more consistent territorial distribution of the new factories. Industries which are devoted to the manufacture of massive or heavy elements and materials will have to be located nearer to the consumption centres and dimensioned in accordance with the local market. Development of such an industry has to be ensured by the communes in the first place, in accordance with their own needs. The rest of the industry that supplies the market with materials for housing construction will have to increase the volume of its production quicker than hitherto and improve its assortment in accordance with the requirements of the market.

In the period ahead certain problems of financing the erection of communal facilities and projects associated with the construction of housing developments must also be solved. The task of town-planning design, with the emphasis on the economic aspect in accordance with the existing level of the national income also remains to be solved, as well as certain social considerations connected with the need to promote the dwelling communities in a consistent manner.

An Important Contribution To Modern Socialist Thinking

THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST RURAL POLICY

*By EDVARD KARDELJ, Vice-President of
the Federal Executive Council of the Federal
People's Republic of Yugoslavia*

*The work covers about 300 pages (printed
in French).*

A WORK entitled "The Problems of Socialist Rural Policy," by Edvard Kardelj, vice-president of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council, has been published in French by "La NEF de Paris éditions" in Paris. The book actually covers the bases for discussion of the policy of the promotion of agricultural production in Yugoslavia, as set forth by Edvard Kardelj at the Ninth Plenum of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, held in May 1959.

Dealing with the various aspects of the above problem, the author describes the material, social and political conditions in which agriculture developed in post-war Yugoslavia. A large part of the book is devoted to a detailed analysis of the movement of agricultural production, the causes of the inevitable slowness of the development of agriculture compared to that of other economic branches, particularly industry.

Emphasizing that modern agricultural production is only possible as a large-scale basis, the author analyses ways and methods of overcoming the obstacles presented by private ownership, notably the small peasant holding. The author also explains the economic and social reasons why it is not feasible to create a modern agriculture either by capitalist means or through administrative collectivization under Yugoslav conditions.

Vice-President Kardelj cites socialist co-operation, i.e. co-operation between the socialist sector and the individual farmers, as one of the basic elements of the transformation of Yugoslav agriculture. This co-operation is pursued in various forms, from ordinary services to team-work in production, and it is founded exclusively on a full voluntary basis and the material interest of both the individual farmers and the socialist agricultural organizations. Only such relations in the Yugoslav village offer prospects for the creation of a modern agriculture without doing away with private ownership of land, which is gradually narrowing down to a rental basis.

The main factors in the process of transformation of Yugoslav agriculture are the socialist holdings, viz., the Agricultural Farms, the Peasant Work Co-operatives and the General Agricultural Co-operatives, either alone or in co-operation with the individual farmers. The author describes

their development to date, their rich experiences, their difficulties, weaknesses and amazing achievements during the last years. Special attention is drawn to the significance of social-economic relationships on the socialist farms, of the material interests of the producers and of workers' self-government, which provide the a stimulus for the promotion of production and the development of socialist social relationships in the village.

The work also describes the role of the so-called subjective factors in the promotion of agriculture, viz., the social-economic policy, the plan, the regulative measures of the State and the activity of social-political organizations and other social organs and organizations.

The author substantiates all his statements with numerous data and many examples from the rich past experience in the development of Yugoslav agriculture.

Addressing themselves to the readers, the Paris publishers of the book point out the following.

"Economists who are always interested in the difficult problems of agriculture, young peasants who just now are apprehensive about the future of our village, and all those who are watching the development of socialist countries for an answer to our particular problems will be eager to read this book which is a valuable contribution to modern socialist thinking."

OFFICIAL STATEMENTS

Yugoslav Attitude on...

Belgian Foreign Minister's Visit. — "The relations between our two countries are developing in an auspicious way. The mutual visits of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia and Belgium represent an established practice, and their purpose is to promote bilateral co-operation and mutual understanding, as well as friendly and open exchanges of opinions on problems affecting both countries. As a result, Monsieur Vigny, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium, whom we hold in high esteem, will be a welcome guest."

The Mexican Parliamentary Delegation. — "This delegation's visit to Yugoslavia has manifested the sound and friendly relations between the two countries and has definitely contributed to a better mutual understanding, and to exchanges of opinions and an examination of the possibilities for an expansion of mutual relations."

Participation in the Great Powers' Conference. — "It is increasingly emphasized and recognized in the world that the questions of peace, disarmament and other burning contemporary problems transcend in importance and in their implications, the boundary of what is the concern and responsibility of the great powers alone. These are common world problems, and other countries, too, especially those outside the blocs, are naturally concerned about them, and of course, should, regardless of their size, directly participate in their settlement."

Ferhat Abbas's Statement. — "Premier Abbas's statement that the Algerian Interim Government will respect the freely expressed will of the Algerian people constitutes an additional constructive contribution to the efforts to open negotiations to ensure a proper realization of the generally accepted principle of self-determination."

On the Announcement of the French Embassy in Belgrade Concerning Visas. — Asked by a correspondent to comment on

the announcement over Radio Belgrade, transmitted at the request of the French Embassy in Belgrade, that the visas which had been issued to Yugoslav citizens to visit France would become ineffectual as of midnight on February 29, the official representative said: "This move of the French Government can only be described as extraordinary. It is all the more surprising in that it has come from the Government of a friendly country. The Note of the French Government said that this measure was being taken regarding citizens of a certain number of countries for special security reasons."

West German Military Bases. — "We consider that the establishment of military bases of the Federal Republic of Germany in Spain or elsewhere would be quite incompatible with general trends in international developments, a view which is confirmed by world reaction. In our opinion, the existence of military bases on foreign territories represents an adverse element in international relations. As regards the atomic armament of Germany, our attitude has been stated and we believe that it is well known".

Yugoslav Government's Memorandum on the Reorganization of OEEC. — "The Memorandum stated our principles and views on international economic co-operation today with regard to the activity of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation and the proposals for its reorganization. It was specially emphasized that international economic relations should be founded on the broadest universal co-operation, regardless of differences in social-economic systems and the degree of economic development of individual countries. Such co-operation should be co-ordinated and integrated with the aims and activity of the United Nations Organization and other international organizations".

(Extracts from the news conference held by the official spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on March 4).

NEWS IN BRIEF

ECONOMY

Food manufacturing. — Yugoslav food factories are to raise their 1960 production by 16 per cent above that of 1959. The largest increases will be in the production of sugar, edible oil, non-alcoholic beverages and beer.

Petroleum. — Yugoslavia produced over 592,000 tons of crude petroleum in 1959, which was 130,000 tons more than in 1958. The first figure exceeded the production which had been planned for 1961 by over 20,000 tons.

Steel. — Yugoslav steel mills are expected to produce this year over 1,400,000 tons of steel, or 100,000 tons more than last year.

Isotopes. — The 6.5 megawatt nuclear reactor which was put into operation at the Yugoslav Institute for Nuclear Energy in Vinča at the end of last year will soon be producing the radioactive isotopes Cobalt 60, Iridium 192, Phosphorus 32, Iodine 131, Gold 198, and Sulphur 35, which will be extensively used in medicine, technology and biology.

INVESTMENTS AND CONSTRUCTION

New seaports. — This year work will be continued on the construction of the southernmost Yugoslav harbour at Bar, whose already completed section is able to handle 250,000 tons of cargo annually. Most of this year's investment of about 900 million dinars will go to the construction of the main breakwater, over 1,300 metres long and 22 metres high.

Housing construction.— Yugoslavia will spend about 140,000 million dinars on the construction of dwellings in 1960, about 110,000 millions coming from social funds and 30,000 millions from the funds of economic enterprises and individuals.

Yugoslavia-Greece transmission line.— Construction is in progress of a 60-kilometre transmission line which will interconnect the electric grids of the two countries, on the basis of an agreement between the Community of the Yugoslav Electric Economy and the Greek Electric Power Company.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

Foreign-trade activity.— Yugoslav foreign trade in January this year was characterized by a comparatively high-level start of goods exchange. The value of the exports reached 9,400 million dinars, or 2,374 millions more than in the same month of last year, while the value of the imports was up by 2,500 millions.

Tractors to Ethiopia.— The Yugoslav Motor Factory of Rakovica, near Belgrade, is to deliver to Ethiopia during March 40 »Zadrugar« tractors and 130 agricultural machines, valued at about 250,000 dollars, and representing the first shipment within the contract.

NEW ORE DEPOSITS

Serbia's reserves.— Rich new reserves of lead-zinc and iron ores, of barytes, fluorite and other metals and minerals, as well as fresh coal deposits estimated at about 100 million tons, have been discovered during the last few years in the People's Republic of Serbia.

TOURISM

More tourists due.— Over 35 large travel offices in U.S.A. and Canada have made preparations for group visits of American tourists to Yugoslavia. American Express, the world's largest travel office, is among the organizers of these tours.

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Exhibition held in U.S.A.— the first exhibition of Yugoslav modern painting in U.S.A. was held in Washington during February, 54 works by 16 artists being shown.

Film exports.— During last year the Yugoslav motion picture industry exported 54 feature films and 117 documentaries and animated cartoons to 16 countries of Europe, Asia and America.

Yugoslav books in Paris.— A exhibition of Yugoslav books was opened at the University of Paris on March 11.

Films for American TV.— The Yugoslav film enterprise »Zagreb-Films« is to make 52 films for American television this year, in accordance with its contract with »Cinemagic« of New York.

Foreign students.— Studying at Yugoslav universities are some 500 foreign students from Iraq, U.A.R., Ethiopia, Jordan, Sudan, Algeria, Japan, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Burma, Nyasaland, Ghana, Morocco, Tunisia, Lebanon, Kenya and Togoland.

MISCELLANY

Disabled men.— Yugoslavia has nearly 100,000 disabled war veterans who enjoy the full material assistance of the community. Last year over 14,500 million dinars was spent on their support and assistance to their families.

Meetings and Talks

AT GOVERNMENT LEVEL

Bogdan Osolnik to U. S. A.— Bogdan Osolnik, Secretary of Information of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council, left for U. S. A. on March 3 where, as guest of the U. S. Government, he is to spend a month familiarizing himself with the working of the local information media.

Yugoslav-Greek Commission meets.— The first regular meeting of the Yugoslav-Greek Commission for Water Economy was concluded in Salonika in early March, the agenda having included a number of questions of common concern in that domain. The Commission adopted its Rules of Procedure and examined the question of the utilization of the waters of the Vardar River, as well as problems connected with improvement work on Lake Dojran.

Yugoslav atomists to U. S. A.— The members of the delegation of the Yugoslav Nuclear Energy Commission, led by Secretary of State, Slobodan Nakićenović, opened conversations with the representatives of the U. S. Government on March 2 concerning the possibility of various forms of co-operation in connection with the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Cultural Co-operation with Greece.— The Yugoslav-Greek Mixed Commission on Cultural Co-operation concluded its first meeting, in Athens, by establishing its this year's programme of co-operation in the field of science and culture.

AT TRADE-UNION LEVEL

Yugoslav Trade-Union representative to Italy.— Rajko Manojlović, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mining, Metallurgical and Chemical Workers Union of Yugoslavia, attended the Congress of the Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers of Italy, held from March 8 to 11 in Venice.

OTHER CONTACTS

German Youth delegation in Yugoslavia.— A delegation of the Free Youth of the Democratic Republic of Germany arrived in Belgrade on March 4 on a fortnight's visit to the Central Committee of People's Youth of Yugoslavia.

Expanding technical co-operation with Poland.— A delegation of the Polish engineering industry arrived in Yugoslavia in early March to discuss possibilities of expanding technical co-operation between the two countries, including the question of assistance in the production of electrical installations for vehicles. The Polish visitors toured a large number of Yugoslav motor vehicle factories and several major plants of the electrical products industry.

Talks for Improvement of Railway Traffic with Greece.— Delegates of Yugoslav and Greek Railways concluded their conversations on March 5, in Skopje, regarding the co-ordination of the time tables of international, express, fast and local trains passing the Yugoslav-Greek border. Complete agreement was reached on all matters discussed.

International Consultations at Vienna.— Yugoslav representatives were among the twenty prominent research scientists from over ten countries who met for consultation in Vienna, from March 2 to 4, under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The conferees examined, inter alia, proposals for the further development of the Agency's programme.

Technical Co-operation with Italy.— At the invitation of the Italian Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, Prvoslav Vasiljević, Director General of Yugoslav Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, paid a visit to Italy in early March where he toured some important centres to familiarize himself with that country's latest technical achievements in the sphere of telecommunications and the possibility of Yugoslav-Italian co-operation in this field.

International Union of Railways meets in Paris.— The representatives of the General Board of Yugoslav Railways were among those who attended the Paris meeting of the International Union of Railways, from February 29 to March 11. Altogether 24 European countries were represented by specialists for the unification of railway regulations.

Art Director of the Edinburgh Festival visits Yugoslavia.— Mr Harwood, Art Director of the Edinburgh Festival, visited Yugoslavia from February 29 to March 10 as guest of the Federal Commission for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries. He discussed the possible appearance of some Yugoslav opera and ballet artistes and companies at the Festival.

F. L. N. Representative in Belgrade.— Mr Bukadom, representative of FLN, arrived in Belgrade on March 1, to take charge of the organization's Bureau which is being opened locally.

Austrian journalists in Yugoslavia. — A group of five Austrian journalists, including the editors in chief and foreign editors of leading Vienna newspapers, arrived in Belgrade on March 10 on a visit to Yugoslavia, as guests of the Secretariat of Information.

Negotiations and Agreements

ECONOMY

Trade with Spain. — At the end of February an arrangement was concluded in Paris between the Yugoslav National Bank and the Spanish Foreign-Exchange Institute, governing goods exchanges between the two countries during 1960. According to the commodity lists, this trade should reach a value of about 12 million dollars either way.

Greek-Yugoslav Commission for the Promotion of Tourism. — The protocol of the first regular meeting of the Yugoslav-Greek Mixed Commission for the Promotion of Tourism, established under an agreement between the Governments of Yugoslavia and Greece last year, was signed in Belgrade on March 10. The agreement provides for an increase of tourist traffic and the establishment of regular tourist lines.

Negotiations with Italy. — Negotiations between the trade delegations of Yugoslavia and Italy were concluded in Belgrade on March 10. A Supplementary Protocol on Goods Exchange from April 1, 1960 to March 31, 1961 was signed, and also a Supplementary Protocol on Goods Traffic Between the Borderlands of Yugoslavia and Italy. These protocols provide conditions for a considerable increase in goods trade between the two countries.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION

Agreement with Bulgaria. — Representatives of the veterinary services of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in early March signed an Agreement on the Application of Joint Measures for Control of Livestock Diseases.

Scientific and technical co-operation with Greece. — Ratification instruments were exchanged in Belgrade on March 1 covering the Yugoslavia-Greece agreements on scientific, technical and cultural co-operation between the two countries, concluded last year.

Co-operation between Yugoslav and Egyptian ironworks. — Representatives of Egyptian and Yugoslav ironworks signed a contract in Cairo on March 2 relating to industrial co-operation and sales for this and next year.

Linking Yugoslav and Hungarian electric grids. — An agreement was signed in Belgrade on March 8 providing for the further linking up of the electric systems of Yugoslavia and Hungary by building a transmission line to connect the transformer stations at Subotica and Szeged. The same agreement makes provision for the supply and exchange of electric energy and regulates some technical and conventional questions relevant to this co-operation. The Subotica-Szeged transmission line will be the second such line to be jointly erected by the two neighbour countries.

CULTURE

Yugoslavia-India Agreement on Cultural Co-operation. — An agreement on Cultural Co-operation was signed by India and Yugoslavia in New Delhi on March 11, which provides for an exchange of representatives and delegations in the fields of education, science, culture and the arts, and also of scientific workers and students, as well as for participation in the congresses of various literary, sports and newspaper organizations and associations of both countries. Provision was also made for an exchange of material in the domain of culture, science and education; for the translation of books and periodicals, and for an exchange of copies of archaeological manuscripts; for organizing scientific and art exhibitions, documentary films and newsreels; and for exchanging information on the cultural manifestations of Yugoslavia and India.

Yugoslav literature in the world. — During the period from 1945 to 1959 360 translations of Yugoslav literary works, classical and modern, have been published in 24 countries of Europe, Asia and America.

Chronicle of Political Events

March 1 — A large public meeting was held in Djevdjelija to mark the opening of this year's work on the "Brotherhood-Unity" motor highway. The section scheduled for construction in 1960, measures over 100 kilometres.

March 2 — The Fifth Congress of Yugoslav Engineers and Technicians, attended by some 600 delegates and 300 guests, was opened at Ljubljana. President Tito sent a message to the Congress, which was addressed by Milentije Popovic, member of the Federal Executive Council, who pointed out that scientific research work must be the leading factor in production and generally

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in the economic and social development of the country. The agenda included current technical problems concerned with the quicker promotion of productive forces and productivity of labour.

March 8 — The International Women's Day was marked by celebrations throughout Yugoslavia. Spasenija Babović, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, spoke at a meeting in Belgrade.

March 8 — The Economic Committee of both Houses of the Federal People's Assembly met to discuss the supply and marketing of farm products in 1959.

March 9 — The Committee on Housing Questions of the Permanent towns Conference met to exchange experiences and opinions on the organization of funds for crediting housing construction, on subscription for dwelling units and on tenants' rights.

March 10 — The Commission on Amendments and Supplements to the Statute of the Socialist Alliance met in Belgrade under the chairmanship of Petar Stambolić. A work group was elected and was charged with formulating draft amendments and supplements to the Statute on the basis of the discussions held.

Diplomatic Diary

February 29 — The President of the Republic received Chiti Sicharitakul, newly-appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Thailand to Yugoslavia, who presented his credentials.

February 29 — The President of the Republic received the members of the Mexican Parliamentary Delegation, led by the Chairman of the Grand Commission of the Senate, Manuel Moreno Sanchez.

March 3 — Ante Rukavina, former department chief at the State Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, was appointed Yugoslav Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ceylon.

March 5 — The President of the Republic received the U.S.S.R. Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia, Ivan Zamchevski, at his request.

March 6 — The President of the Republic received Alberto Beri, newly-appointed Italian Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia, who presented his credentials.

March 6 — The President of the Republic received in a farewell audience the former Danish Ambassador Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary to Yugoslavia, Karl Eskelund, and decorated him with the Order of the Yugoslav Flag, First Class, which he had conferred on him for his services in the promotion and consolidation of peaceful cooperation and friendly relations between the two countries.

March 6 — The President of the Republic received in a farewell audience the former Israeli Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia, Abraham Darom.

March 10 — Petar Ivković, former Minister Plenipotentiary at the State Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, was appointed Yugoslav Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Afghanistan.

March 10 — The first "Cuban Ambassador to Yugoslavia" Gustavo Alderegia, arrived in Belgrade to take up his post.

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